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ABSTRACT

This book is designed to assist those who work with non-English dominant students by providing resource information relevant to second language teaching and learning. The articles in the series encompass both theory and practical learning techniques in six general topics. The articles in the first text of the series, concerning background and approaches, are: "The Current Scene in Second Language Teaching: A Brief Background," by Richard L. Light; "The Future of TESOL: Continuity or Generation Gap?" by David P. Harris; "The Compatability of TESOL and Bilingual Education," by James E. Alatis; and "Linguistic and Communicative Competence," by Christina Bratt Paulston. Appended are a list of abbreviations and definitions used in the book and a list of materials and services available from the Bureau of Bilingual Education, New York State Education Department. (Author/NCR)

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TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE: PERSPECTIVES AND PRACTICES

A Series of Six Texts

Background and Approaches

FIRST OF A SERIES

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FOREWORD

Teaching English as a Second Language: Perspectives and Practices is designed to assist those who work with non-English dominant students by providing resource information relevant to the processes of second language teaching and learning. The articles encompass both theory and practical learning techniques in six general topics and have been compiled in response to increased interest in the education of learners whose native language is other than English. It is becoming more widely recognized that such students can benefit from formal instruction in English as a second language as well as efforts to maintain and utilize their native language and culture. This series replaces the previous Teaching English as a Second Language Series.

This is the first of a series of six volumes. Other volumes of the series are the following:

Speaking and Understanding

Reading and Writing

Testing

Current Issues in Second Language Teaching

English as a Second Language and Bilingual Education

Acknowledgments

The work of the consulting editor, Dr. Richard Light, Associate Professor in Teaching English as a Second Language, State University of New York at Albany, is appreciated. Laurie Wellman, Associate, Bureau of Bilingual Education, organized and prepared the manuscript for publication. The Department is grateful to all who granted permission to include their articles in this publication.

TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE
PERSPECTIVES AND PRACTICES

A Series of Six Texts

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The Current Scene in Second Language Teaching: A Brief Background

Richard L. Light
State University of New York at Albany

Current discussions regarding appropriateness of various strategies in second language learning and teaching can be traced to long-standing questions regarding the nature of language and the nature of learning. Just as there is currently no agreement among scholars concerning such broad questions, so too there is no agreement on the question of a "best method" of second language teaching. There is no single method of a second language teaching that has been demonstrated as superior to all others. Ultimately, it is the enlightened and perceptive teacher in the classroom who must make informed choices regarding language teaching activities appropriate for learners of English as a second language. This paper provides a background for study about second language teaching and learning, and suggests resources for those who may wish to read further on these topics.

Distinctions have been traditionally made among three classical divisions of theories of learning: behaviorism, neo-behaviorism, and cognitivism. The language teaching activities which flow from these theories can conveniently be classed under two broader categories: behaviorism and cognitivism. The distinction between these theories centers mainly around the preoccupations of the theorists who belong to each group. Behaviorism includes those theoretical positions which are concerned chiefly with observable and measurable aspects of human behavior,

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Richard Light is Associate Professor in the TESOL Program, Department of Teacher Education, at the State University of New York at Albany.

stimuli, and responses, and with discovering the rules that govern the formation of relationships among these observable components of behavior. Representative theorists and their works concerned with behaviorism are Skinner (1957, 1968) and Osgood (1957). In the areas of language description and language acquisition, the structural linguists were most clearly identified with behaviorism (Rivers, 1964).

Teaching techniques based upon principles of behaviorism are central to the audiolingual (ALM) approach to second language teaching. This approach, fully developed in the 1950's and 1960's and widely used today, took the basic tenets of behaviorism and applied them to the second language classroom. The major assumptions about language learning underlying the audiolingual approach are the following (from Rivers, 1964):

Assumption 1: Foreign Language learning is basically a mechanical process of habit formation.

Corollary 1: Habits are strengthened by reinforcement.

Corollary 2: Foreign language habits are formed most effectively by giving the right response, not by making mistakes.

Corollary 3: Language is behavior, and behavior can be learned only by inducing the student to "behave."

Assumption 2: Language skills are learned more effectively if items of the foreign language are presented in spoken form before written form.

Assumption 3: Analogy provides a better foundation for foreign language learning than analysis (i.e., give students grammatical rules inductively, as a followup to practice on a given grammatical structure.)

Assumption 4: The meanings which the words of a language have for the native speaker can be learned only in a matrix of allusions to the culture of the people who speak that language.

The language teaching activities which followed from these assumptions are by now "classical" audiolingual activities and are detailed in such sources as Brooks (1964), Dacanay (1963), and Lado (1964). Basically these activities consist of presentation of new language material in some realistic context such as a dialogue or narrative (Assumption 4); use of oral pattern practice and other "drill" techniques to "fix the patterns" (Assumptions 1, 2); teaching language skills in the order: listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Assumption 2); providing ample opportunity for students to practice speaking (Assumption 1, Corollary 3); giving immediate reinforcement for correct student responses (Assumption 1, Corollaries 1 and 2); providing grammatical "rules" only as inductive generalizations after students have practiced the grammatical point being taught (Assumption 3).

Although some of the linguistic and psychological principles underlying these activities have been widely criticized (Chomsky 1959, Rivers 1964, Jakobovits 1970, and Jacobovits and Gordon 1974), many of them are still widely used. Criticism of the principles underlying audiolingual methodology has come largely from those theorists broadly supportive of cognitivism, the second division of learning theory noted above.

Briefly, supporters of cognitivism emphasize the roles of memory, understanding, and information processing in learning. There is a corresponding lack of concern for stimulus-response events per se (Lefrancois, 1975). In the area of language study, the transformational grammarians perhaps best represent cognitivism. They view first language acquisition not in terms of habits of speech developed through stimulus-response in-

teraction with the environment, but as a development process, directed by innate guiding principles. Among the most influential writers in this area are Piaget (1926), Chomsky (1965), and Brown (1973). Very recently, scholars have examined the principles of first language acquisition enunciated by these writers, in relation to second language acquisition among children and adults. Notable among these studies are those of Burt and Dulay (1972, 1973, 1974), and Krashen et al. (1975). The Burt and Dulay studies, conducted with five-to-eight year old Spanish-background and Chinese-background children learning English as a second language, have demonstrated close similarities in several aspects of language acquisition by children learning English as a first language and those learning English as a second language. In turn, Krashen et al. (1975) have suggested similarities between children's and adult's acquisition of English as a second language.

The practical implications of these studies and the transformational-cognitive views of language learning and language teaching are at some variance with those of behaviorism. Briefly, this view says that since 1) there are demonstrated similarities between first and second language acquisition, especially among children and since 2) no one overtly or systematically teaches a child his first language yet all normal children learn it, then 3) for second language lessons, especially for children, but perhaps also for adults, we need to be less concerned with structured pattern practice and with careful grading according to linguistic difficulty. We need to be more concerned with exposing a learner to a natural communication situation since this is sufficient to activate his language learning processes. In the second language classroom, the

attention of the learner should be on the content or message of the verbal exchange rather than structures to be taught. As much as possible all the nouns, verbs, and adjectives in a teacher's utterance should be visually accessible to the learner via visual aids as he hears the teacher speaking. In short, for both children and adults, one should consider the topics that would be most useful to students, and design the curriculum accordingly (Larsen, 1974). In addition, the transformational-cognitive approach differs from the behaviorist approach in other respects. There is a greater emphasis upon deductive explanation of grammar rules. Reading and writing may be introduced earlier. There is greater emphasis upon immediate use of new language for purposes of real communication, and a corresponding deemphasis upon rote memorization and structured drills.

"Errors" are not viewed as "bad" but may rather be evidence of learned rules (e.g., foots for feet), and therefore should be expected.

As we noted above, our view is that the teacher, aware of the two major approaches to language teaching and equipped with a knowledge of the teaching techniques supporting each, is the one to choose appropriate techniques for given groups of learners. A number of recent writers on second language teaching have urged such eclecticism (Bolinger 1968, Stevick 1971, Ney 1973). Appropriate techniques from either approach may prove effective in the classroom. Stevick (1971) nicely summarizes the behaviorist and transformational-cognitive views of second language teaching, and provides some useful assumptions about characteristics of effective second language lessons. Stevick's eclecticism (based upon more than twenty years of second language teaching and research ex-

perience), together with Carroll's (1974) summary of research on second language learning, and the articles in this series, should provide the prospective or practicing second language teacher a sound basis from which to draw insights applicable to their second language teaching situation.

Finally, there are two newer approaches to second language learning and teaching which have received increasing attention. These are "community language learning" and the Silent Way. For reviews of these approaches see the articles by Light and by Stevick in this series.

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The Future of ESOL: Continuity or Generation Gap?

David P. Harris

The year 1970 marked the beginning of the fourth decade in which American education has been seriously concerned with the teaching of English to speakers of other languages - ESOL. During the past three decades our profession has passed through its infancy (the 1940s), its adolescence (the 1950s), and its early adulthood (the 1960s). If we can assume some validity to this metaphorical consideration of ESOL as a living and growing creature, we would expect the 1970s to be a particularly significant period in the history of this field, for thirty years is roughly the time between the birth of one generation and that of the next. How much, one wonders, will the child resemble the parent? Will the youngster cherish his family history, or will we soon see the development of still another perplexing and frustrating "generation gap"?

In this presentation I shall offer a brief description of ESOL in the three decades that now lie behind us, and suggest something of the direction in which the new generation might be headed. Of necessity, this summary will be somewhat sketchy and will undoubtedly reflect my own preoccupation with but one of several ESOL concerns, the teaching of overseas students at the university level. I apologize in advance for whatever bias my orientation gives to the general account that follows.[1]

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[1]In selecting the topics for inclusion in my historical survey, I have made considerable use of Albert H. Marckwardt's excellent review, "Teaching English as a Foreign Language: A Survey of the Past Decade," Linguistic Reporter, Supplement no. 19 (Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, October 1967).

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The 1940s

Our first efforts in the systematic teaching of English as a second, or foreign, language date from the early 1940s, being directed at first to the establishment of adult education projects in Latin America under our Good Neighbor Policy, and, at home, to the development of intensive courses for foreign students and scholars attending our colleges and universities. The first intensive, linguistically oriented program of ESOL in the United States was established at the University of Michigan in 1941, under the name The English Language Institute. Within the next few years a small number of other programs of a generally similar nature followed, including the American Language Institute in Washington, which had its origins in an English language and orientation center established in 1942 for Latin American students. With the end of World War II, American ESOL activities gradually spread around the globe, embracing the Far East, the Near East, and portions of Europe. To be sure, the greatest English teaching efforts in non-English speaking areas came somewhat later than the 1940s, but it is important to recognize that the foundations were being laid in that decade.

It was also during the 1940s that our first important teaching materials in ESOL were published. Chief among these were the intensive courses produced at Michigan for Latin American and Chinese students. In this decade, also, Professor Charles Fries, the first director of the Michigan English Language Institute, produced his historic textbook *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language,*[2] in which he set forth the "new" approach to language teaching that was the basis of the Michigan instruction.

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[2]Charles C. Fries, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1945).

From the late 1940s also date the first tests of English as a foreign language to be based on linguistic principles. The *Examination in Structure* and the *Test of Aural Comprehension*[3] were also products of the Michigan English Language Institute, and they unquestionably served as the model for many subsequent examinations prepared for foreign students learning English.

The University of Michigan's early dominance of the field is also illustrated by the appearance, in 1948, of the first issue of the journal *Language Learning*, which for at least a decade remained virtually the only outlet in the United States for articles on the teaching of ESOL. (I should point out, however, that the British quarterly, *English Language Teaching*, preceded the American journal by about three years.)

The 1940s are important in the history of ESOL teaching in America because this decade provided the groundwork for what was to become a major educational concern. The 1940s witnessed the beginnings of wide-scale American participation in English teaching abroad as well as the establishment of the first intensive ESOL programs at home. During this decade, the first important texts and tests were published, and these materials were to provide the models for much that would follow.

Before moving on to more recent times, however, let us remind ourselves that America was far from alone in its involvement in ESOL teaching during the forties. Great Britain had already had, by this time, a century and a half of experience in teaching English abroad, and a number of

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[3]Charles C. Fries and Robert Lado, *Examiniation in Structure*, 3 forms (Ann Arbor: English Language Institute of the University of Michigan, 1947); and Robert Lado, *Test of Aural Comprehension*, 3 forms (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1946).

Western European countries also had developed English teaching to a significant level. In one sense, however, America's late entry into the field worked to her advantage, for it meant that from the very outset the teaching of ESOL in the United States was largely under the direction of men and women with linguistic training (a prime example being Professor Fries at Michigan), and that teaching methods and materials could reflect the experience gained in the intensive language programs developed by linguists for the armed forces during the War.

The 1950s

The 1950s saw an intensification of the demands for ESOL instruction both at home and abroad. More English institutes were established within our universities, offering intensive language training to young adults who were flocking to our institutions of higher learning, many under U.S. government scholarships. A number of large universities inaugurated special English classes for foreign students who could not compete with American students in the regular freshman English courses. These were primarily non-intensive classes, though a growing number were placed in the hands of young instructors with linguistic training. About fifty colleges and universities came to offer such instruction before the end of the decade.

During the 1950s, our efforts to provide English instruction and materials for non-English speakers were also extended to children of elementary and secondary school age. Again it was Charles Fries of Michigan who, in cooperation with the Department of Education of Puerto Rico, helped to develop a program for the schools of that American Commonwealth.[4]

[4]Pauline M. Rojas, Director; Charles C. Fries, Consultant; and Staff, *Fries American English Series: for the Study of English as a Second Language*, 11 vols. (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1952-57).

Most of the new materials of the fifties, however, were again aimed at the young adult. A revision of the earlier Michigan course for Spanish speakers was made available for use in teaching students of all language backgrounds.[5] During the early part of the decade, the American Council of Learned Societies under contract with the U.S. Department of State produced a new linguistically oriented series[6] consisting of ten versions of the same basic text, each version being prepared for a different foreign language population, such as Greeks, Turks, Burmese, Koreans, and Thais. Each of these volumes was based on a contrastive analysis of English and the specific background language involved, but the use of a new brand of phonetic notation made the books difficult for many of the students and teachers who attempted to use them.

In addition to these major series, an impressive number of instructional materials were the work of individual American teachers and scholars. The number totalled well over sixty texts and textbook series. Of these however, few were directed to learners above a vaguely defined "intermediate level." At least until the very end of the decade, almost no efforts were made to bridge the enormous gap between the kind of English needed for general conversation and the kind of mastery of the reading and writing skills required by students who would need to function effectively in an English-speaking college or university.

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[5]Charles C. Fries and Staff of the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan, *Patterns of English Sentences, English Pronunciation, Lessons in Vocabulary, Cumulative Pattern Practices*, 4 vols. (Ann Arbor: English Language Institute of the University of Michigan, 1953-55).

[6]American Council of Learned Societies, *Spoken English Series* (Washington D.C.: ACLS, 1953-).

One further point about the teaching materials of the fifties should be mentioned. Because such a large proportion of them were designed for foreign students and scholars intending to pursue academic courses in the United States, the texts tended to emphasize life on American campuses. Such materials had obvious shortcomings for general use overseas, and even as introductions to American culture they tended to be embarrassingly naive.

Teacher-training activities both at home and abroad continued to be at a rudimentary stage during the 1950s. In the United States a dozen or so institutions offered TESOL training on the M.A. level, but these were largely adaptations of general linguistics programs and fell short of offering the kind of concentration on the specific problems and techniques of TESOL. In most of the outside world, short-term seminars or workshops, conducted by American and British specialists either separately or in combination, were the principal resources for the upgrading of teachers in service.

The testing of ESOL was significantly advanced during the 1950s through the proficiency measures developed at the University of Michigan and at the American University Language Center in Washington. For at least the next decade, these two programs would be the chief resources for American universities and government agencies needing information about the English competence of overseas applicants for study and training programs in the United States.

Probably the last significant undertaking of the fifties was the establishment in Washington of the Center for Applied Linguistics, at that time an arm of the Modern Language Association of America, and financed

by a small trial grant from the Ford Foundation. The center commenced operations in February 1959, as a "clearinghouse and informal coordinating body in the application of linguistics to practical language problems." From the very beginning, English as a foreign language was a prime area of concern, and it is impossible to overestimate the assistance that the profession has since received from the center, through both its conferences and its many publications in the field of ESOL.

The 1950s, then, witnessed a marked increase in American involvement in English teaching at home and abroad, both in the number of programs being offered to students and in the body of materials prepared specifically for ESOL. Yet because of the particular needs of our English programs of the time, most of our energies were being concentrated on the beginning and intermediate instruction of adult learners, specifically those who needed to function in an American campus environment.

The 1960s

With the third decade of ESOL's brief history, we move to what I characterized as a period of early adulthood, traditionally a time of increased responsibilities. With the resulting maturity often comes a reappraisal of one's life style and goals, leading, in some cases, to the agony of self-doubt. In some ways this is not an altogether inaccurate description of ESOL in the sixties.

1. *ESOL Teaching Abroad.* As a result of the development of many new nations in Africa, the gradual decline of English standards in places like India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and a growing willingness among even some Eastern European countries to accept a degree of instructional aid from the West, the teaching of ESOL became a truly global endeavor during the 1960s. It would be impossible to survey comprehensively the many

private and governmental agencies, foundations, and university programs that contributed at this time to the teaching of English abroad. A few examples may illustrate the scope and variety of American efforts during the decade.

The United States Information Agency conducted ongoing adult English classes in approximately fifty-seven countries, with a total enrollment of a third of a million students.[7] In addition to the direct teaching of English, the agency annually held hundreds of short-term seminars and workshops for local teachers in countries throughout the world.

Both the Peace Corps and the Fulbright exchange program were heavily committed to English teaching in the sixties. By the middle of the decade, approximately 2,250 Peace Corps volunteers were teaching English in forty countries, and about 115 Fulbright professors and teachers were assigned to English programs in the educational institutions of some twenty-two foreign countries.[8]

The great foundations also played a significant role in a number of areas. For example, the Ford Foundation assisted in the development of training facilities for ESOL in over a dozen countries, and the Rockefeller Foundation likewise supported projects in a variety of overseas locations.

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[7]Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: United States Activities, 1967 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1968), p.5.

[8]See respectively, *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: United States Activities, 1966* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1967), p. 4; and Trusten W. Russell, "Opportunities for Service Offered by Government Agencies," in *On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages*, Series II, ed. Carol J. Kreidler (Urbana, Ill.; National Council of Teachers of English, (1966), pp. 17-18.

2. *ESOL Teaching at Home.* On the domestic scene, our colleges and universities were also serving a greatly increased number of students from abroad. By the latter part of the decade there were over 90,000 foreign students attending institutions of higher learning in this country. Though many of these were English speaking, or had already acquired a reasonably high degree of English proficiency, many others required further instruction before they could hope to compete successfully with their native American classmates. By the end of the sixties there were some 150 colleges and universities in the United States offering ESOL courses, of which perhaps about forty had intensive programs of between twenty-five and thirty-five hours per week.[9]

But perhaps of greater significance in the history of our profession was the development during the sixties of ESOL programs for the many thousands of elementary and high school students, either immigrants or American born, for whom English was not a native or first language. ESOL programs for children did not, of course, originate in the 1960s, as our earlier reference to Fries' work in Puerto Rico would testify. However, it seems to have been in the last decade that the attention of the profession as a whole became focused on the domestic situation.

One very important segment of our population receiving more attention in the sixties was the American Indian children, of whom there were about 50,000 enrolled in the 264 schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[10] Among the efforts to upgrade English instruction to these children were the following: (1) a BIA-supported study of the problems of teaching English to American Indians, carried out in 1967

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[9]Marckwardt, p. 4.
[10]Russell, p. 16.

under the auspices of the Center for Applied Linguistics; (2) the BIA-sponsored thousand-teacher workshop, held in the Southwest in June 1967; (3) the development of ESOL materials for Navajo children in the beginning grades, under the direction of Robert Wilson of UCLA,[11] and an adaptation of the *Fries American English Series* by Mary Jane Cook of the University of Arizona; and (4) at the very end of the decade, an evaluation of English teaching in Navajo-area schools under a BIA contract with the TESOL organization.

Still other important non-English-speaking groups of children within our schools in the 1960s were those from families who had immigrated from Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, and other Latin American countries. Most of these children were concentrated in such urban areas as New York City, Miami, and greater Los Angeles, or in the southwest regions that border Mexico.

We may acquire some grasp of the dimensions of these efforts by considering the numbers of Spanish-speaking children attending schools in two representative cities. In New York City there were in the mid-sixties approximately 200,000 children of Puerto Rican and other Latin American origin in the schools, of whom about 88,000 were rated as seriously handicapped in their use of English. And in the same period Miami schools were serving about 21,000 Spanish-speaking children, of whom about 3,350 were in special programs because of the severity of their English problems.[12]

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[11]For a report of this project, Robert D. Wilson, "Bilingual Education for Navajo Children," *TESOL Quarterly 3* (March 1969): 65-69.

[12]Mary Finocchiaro, "Teaching the Spanish-Speaking Child in New York City," in *On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages*, Series III, ed. Betty Wallace Robinett (Washington, D.C.: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, 1967), p. 58; and Pauline Rojas, "The Miami Experience in Bilingual Education," *On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages*, Series II, p. 43.

These examples may serve to illustrate the extent of what might be referred to as the ESOL "population explosion" of the sixties and help to explain why the past decade saw a corresponding "publications explosion" as well as greatly increased provision for teacher-training programs. To these two topics we now turn briefly.

3. *ESOL Materials.* A comparison of the standard ESOL bibliographies for the mid-fifties and the mid-sixties shows that the number of textbooks produced by American writers for the general ESOL market more than doubled during that ten-year span. I have already alluded to the new materials designed for non-English-speaking children in our elementary schools. At the other end of the spectrum were the various collections of readings for the mature student of college age -- collections which, in the words of one observer, reflected the growing realization that the student needs a considerably more profound introduction to the principal facets of American culture than the campus dialogs provided in earlier textbook series.[13]

Additionally, during the latter part of the decade the first steps were taken toward developing materials to assist the mature learner of English to acquire facility in written expression. Although it is still too early to predict how much success we will ever have in teaching the elusive and only vaguely understood skill of writing, some of the research efforts of the 1960s yielded fascinating results in this area. Among these was the work done in identifying the different traditions of writing style existing in various cultures. For example, we now see more clearly that the Arab student does not approach a writing assignment in the same way as the Greek or the Korean, nor would these students use the same

[13]Marckwardt, p. 5.

methods of developing their ideas. Through contrastive analyses of written style we might be able to offer students of different cultural backgrounds very different instruction in the writing of formal English. To date, the new insights have not been put to much use in the preparation of ESOL writing manuals, but the possibilities are intriguing.

The "publications explosion" of the sixties involved reports of research as well as textbooks and reference materials for the ESOL teacher and teacher-trainer. By the middle of the decade the flood of printed material had reached such proportions that no worker in the field could possibly hope to keep himself up-to-date without professional help. During the sixties the most valuable bibliographical service was that rendered by the Center for Applied Linguistics, whose comprehensive bibliographies of materials were published in 1964 and 1966 and supplemented in 1969. Regrettably, a change in CAL policy has brought an end to the production of these exceedingly useful annotated surveys.

Another highly important bibliographical resource dates from the late 1960s and fortunately remains available to us in the 1970s. This is the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) system, a nationwide program of the U.S. Office of Education designed to collect, process, and disseminate information on educational research and related materials. Work is divided among a number of subject-oriented clearinghouses, the one devoted to linguistics originally being housed at, and administered by, the Center for Applied Linguistics. In 1967 the Clearinghouse for Linguistics first received Office of Education funds to include ESOL in its coverage, and publications have comprised both bibliographical surveys and state-of-the-art papers of a highly informative nature. Recently this

clearinghouse was merged with the foreign languages clearinghouse and transferred to the Modern Language Association of America, but we continue to enjoy the basic ERIC services in linguistics.

Other important programs developed in the 1960s to produce teaching materials and research studies were the network of regional educational laboratories established by the Office of Education under the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Establishment of this system brought us another dazzling array of acronyms: SWCEL (Southwestern Cooperative Laboratory; Albuquerque, New Mexico); SEDL (Southwest Education Development Laboratory; Austin, Texas); SCREL (South Central Region Educational Laboratory; Little Rock, Arkansas); and so forth. In 1972 the entire program was transferred to the new National Institute of Education, but the work of the laboratories-at this writing somewhat reduced in number-continues.

4. *ESOL Teacher Training.* A survey by the Center for Applied Linguistics in the mid-sixties[14] showed that over thirty colleges and universities were offering at least three courses in teacher training in ESOL, and during the latter half of the decade the number predictably increased. At least a score of institutions offered master's degrees in ESOL training or in fields which allowed a heavy concentration of work in this field, and at least a half-dozen universities offered doctorates with specialization in TESOL.

During this period the federal government too, became heavily committed to teacher training in this field. The National Defense Education Act, established in 1958 to improve foreign language instruction in the United States was revised in 1964 to include ESOL as a foreign lan-

[14]*University Resources in the United States for Linguistics and Teacher Training in English as a Foreign Language, 1966* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966).

guage under the provisions of the act. During the period 1964 to 1968, some 1600 elementary and secondary school teachers and administrators attended the NDEA summer institutes in ESOL and English as a second dialect (ESD).[15] Programs at the institutes typically included the study of applied linguistics, ESOL methodology, and anthropology and culture. Federal funds were provided to cover both the operating costs of the programs and the living expenses of the participants.

In 1969, NDEA was supplanted by the Education Professions Development Act, whose programs enrolled teachers at all educational levels and included both ESOL and ESD. Other support to teacher training was offered at the end of the decade by the Bilingual Education Act, designed to improve instruction to children up to the age of eighteen.

Thus we may see from the foregoing that in the 1960s teacher training activities in the United States were aimed more and more at meeting purely domestic needs, and for the first time included relatively large numbers of teachers who were already experienced in teaching standard English to speakers of other languages or dialects.

5. *Professional Associations.* In the 1960s ESOL teachers were also being served by their professional associations. Special committees or interest groups were formed to initiate or coordinate ESOL convention activities in such organizations as the Speech Association of America (now the Speech Communication Association) and the National Council of Teachers of English. During the first half of the decade the largest professional ESOL body was still the English Language Section of the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (subsequently renamed the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs). In the middle of the decade this ESOL group

[15]The figure was obtained by adding the enrollments cited in the Office of Education's annual reports.

was somewhat reorganized to form a semiautonomous association within the parent organization. The name they adopted was, significantly, the Association of Teachers of English as a *Second* Language -- ATESL. The association's choice of the term "second language" instead of "foreign language," which had generally been favored during the forties and fifties, reflects the growing concern of the profession as a whole with those domestic learners who could not accurately be characterized as foreigners.

The membership of ATESL was, and remains, largely teachers of ESOL at the university level. It was a sign of the growing maturity of the profession that increasing concern was expressed over the lack of a single, all-inclusive professional organization that might bring together ESOL teachers and administrators at all educational levels-from elementary school to graduate school, from those working with migratory farm workers to those teaching foreign military personnel. The result was a series of three conferences cosponsored by NAFSA, NCTE, SAA, MLA, and the Center for Applied Linguistics. The first of these conferences, held in 1964, marked the debut of still another and hopefully, more flexible -- professional designation: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages. (It was argued at the time that "second language" did not accurately describe the place of English in many parts of the world.) The end result of these highly successful conferences was the establishment in 1966 of a new and independent organization, TESOL, which has since been providing the field with an annual convention and an excellent quarterly journal.

A similar cooperative effort by the professional associations and interested government agencies led in 1962 to the establishment of the National Council on the Testing of English as a Foreign Language. In a series of important conferences, the council agreed on the advisability of

setting up a new and improved English proficiency testing program which might be acceptable to all colleges and universities in the United States, and to the various government agencies concerned with the evaluation of foreign students' English. The result of these meetings was the development of TOEFL-Test of English as a Foreign Language--which, by the end of the decade, was testing some 56,000 candidates annually.

6. *ESOL and ESD.* No picture of the history of ESOL in the sixties would be complete without some consideration of the interaction of ESOL and ESD (English as a second dialect) during the decade. For the same decade that saw the emphasis in ESOL shift from the international to the domestic scene also witnessed the growth of a long overdue concern for those many thousands of American children and adults whose academic and occupational success, and social mobility, are severely restricted by the kind of English they use and by their difficulties in dealing with the written word. An adequate tracing of the history of linguistically based instruction in so-called standard English would require a paper in itself. In the present context I must confine myself to some general remarks about the manner in which ESOL techniques were applied experimentally to the teaching of ESD.

Such an application was inevitable, for applied linguists in the mid-sixties naturally thought it plausible that the considerable knowledge acquired since the 1940s in the teaching of foreign languages, particularly English, could be profitably utilized in teaching those Americans who, though native speakers of English, were nonetheless language handicapped. Thus it seemed appropriate to begin with a contrastive analysis of background and target dialects to identify the essential points of difference:

those which distinguish the "standard" dialect from the "nonstandard." These items could then be drilled in the familiar sequence of mimicry, repetition, and substitution. When the students had mastered the new patterns, they would be given the opportunity to practice the patterns in real-life contexts, as through role playing. Following contemporary ESOL procedure, reading and writing were frequently delayed until after a period of extensive oral pattern practice.

Teacher-training programs in ESD also tended to parallel the general ESOL format, with classes in English phonology and grammar, applied linguistics, and methodology. Often a strong sociological component was added, for it was soon discovered that the attitudinal problems of the speakers of nonstandard English were very different from those of foreign students highly motivated to learn English as a key to academic success, and that these kinds of problems were as serious as the strictly linguistic ones. Here was an important lesson which applied linguists learned from the field of ESD.

7. *Methodology.* I suggested earlier that educational disciplines, like man himself, frequently enter a period of self-questioning and reappraisal in their mature years. The decade of the sixties was very definitely a period of agonizing reappraisal in the teaching of foreign languages -- a period when all the time-honored dogmas were strongly challenged, when the traditional idols were given a vigorous shaking, and when some were even overthrown.

We had entered the 1960s with a methodological base first developed in the 1940s and further articulated and refined in the 1950s. The principles of this so-called aural-oral or audiolingual method were derived both from the discipline of linguistics and from certain ideas of

behaviorist psychology. Language was viewed as a system to be established as a set of habits through the constant repetition of patterns, with emphasis on those features of the target language that contrasted with those of the background language. In many of the popular textbooks, new structures were introduced with a minimum of grammatical explanation, and much drill material (minimal-pair exercises, for example) was constructed without much regard for the meaningfulness of what it was the students were repeating. Emphasis was given to the spoken language, with reading and writing largely deferred to the intermediate level of instruction.

It would be safe to say, I think, that most of us felt a reasonable degree of confidence in this methodology at the beginning of the last decade, our chief concerns being with the need for more and fuller contrastive analyses, more and better teaching materials along the lines outlined above, and more extensive teacher-training facilities. Then, quite suddenly, developments from the outside began to shatter our complacency. For these new developments, two groups of scholars were primarily responsible: the theoretical linguists and the psychologists.

First and foremost, the work of Chomsky and other generative-transformational grammarians began to call into question our basic views of the nature of language and language acquisition. A good, brief discussion of the new set of assumptions that have evolved from the work of these "new grammarians," directed to the teacher of English to speakers of other languages, will be found in Ronald Wardhaugh's paper on the state of the art in ESOL, issued at the end of the sixties by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics.[16] I will here say only that if there is any validity in

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[16]Ronald Wardhaugh, *Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages: The State of the Art* (Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics).

the new assumptions, then we must question both the statements we have been making to our students about the target language -- in this case English -- and the behavioristic methods we have employed in attempting to give our students a competence in that language.

Secondly, our behavioristic methodology has been challenged by the work of the psychologists and psycholinguists. For what they have been telling us, particularly since the mid-sixties, is that in our zeal to drill, drill our students, some of us have undoubtedly overlooked or at least grossly underestimated the fatigue and boredom factors; and we have assumed too innocently that our students will accept the goals we have in mind for them, which we often do not articulate with much care or skill.

I shall return to this subject in my tentative predictions about the future. I do want to say at this point, however, that I would direct the foregoing criticisms less at the conscientious classroom teacher than at some of the writers of textbooks and the more ivory-towerish trainers of teachers. Fortunately for both our students and the profession itself, good teachers have always had the wisdom to shy away from methodological extremes and from the way-out textbooks that have all too often been thrust at them. What the psychologists have recently been telling us are things that the good teacher has intuited all along. But some specialists will not accept a patent truth until it has been handed to them, complete with footnotes, by one of their own kind.

Finally, I would again note that our sister discipline, English as a second dialect, has recently been adding confirmation and reinforcement to the message of the psychologists regarding the importance of student

motivation and goals, and the pedagogical problems which their absence can create.

Predictions for the 1970s

Having brought the history of ESOL up to the 1970s, I would end by venturing a few cautious predictions about future trends.

The numbers of foreign students coming to this country for academic study and technical training seem to have levelled off. Nevertheless, the teaching of English as a *foreign* language, both at home and abroad, should continue to receive its share of attention in the seventies. And, to judge from the manuscripts the publishers have been sending us for review, there will continue to be a large number of new materials for this area of instruction, particularly textbooks to guide the advanced-level learner in the development of the reading and writing skills.

At the same time, the emphasis of the 1960s on the domestic teaching of English as a *second* language will undoubtedly be maintained -- and even increased. We shall see many new publications prepared for specific groups of younger learners, such as American Indian children and Spanish-speaking children in California and the Southwest. Much attention will surely be given to the development of sound bilingual programs, in which both the learners' background language and English will be utilized in subject-matter instruction. And finally, we may anticipate that further efforts will be devoted to finding more effective ways of utilizing ESOL techniques in the field of adult basic education, a very important service area whose "target population" includes a substantial number of non-English speaking Americans.[17]

[17]Dennis R. Preston, "English as a Second Language in Adult Education Programs," *TESOL Quarterly 5* (September, 1971): 181-96.

Native American speakers of nonstandard English will, we may assume, continue to receive their share of professional attention in the seventies, and many specialists who have heretofore concentrated on ESOL will no doubt turn their energies to the teaching of ESD in our urban areas.

Answers to a number of fundamental questions will need to be found -- and generally agreed upon -- before substantial progress can be made. Can we validly regard so-called black English as a form of the language significantly different from nonstandard white English? And, if so, does black English have the same features throughout the country? Is it really practicable to ask speakers of nonstandard English to learn standard English as a supplementary dialect? And, if so, should standard English continue to be taught by a quasi-foreign language strategy? And if the answer to this question is affirmative, what modifications should be made in ESOL techniques?

In regard to the last question, it is my personal feeling that much of the early ESD material was based on overly optimistic assumptions about the direct transferability of ESOL techniques to an ESD teaching situation. As a result, extremely tedious ESOL-style drills were sometimes imposed on students who were already speakers of English and who could neither take the lessons seriously nor accept the advertised goals as relevant.

Clearly, then, we need to learn a great deal more about the teaching of standard English as a second dialect, and teachers of ESD and ESOL must cooperate with one another for their mutual benefit. As new discoveries are made, they must quickly be communicated to the classroom teacher, through both publications and teacher-training programs. Unfortunately, the future of the latter looks extremely dark at the moment.

Late in 1969 the Office of Education announced the cancellation of the Basic Studies Program of the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA), an action with the most unfortunate consequences for ESOL, ESD, and bilingual education. It was this program that provided for the institutes and fellowship programs for teachers which did so much in the latter sixties to upgrade the quality of language instruction in our schools. One must fervently hope that the federal government will soon come to realize what this loss means to American education and will redress this serious wrong. Meanwhile, we must look to the universities, state departments of education, and professional associations to keep the light burning on the generally very dark teacher-training scene.

Finally, I would venture to predict that ESOL and ESD methodology and classroom materials will more and more reflect the insights gained from generative-transformational theory in the years that lie immediately ahead. Of course, as we have heard so often, there is as yet no clear idea *how* -- or indeed, many would say *whether* -- the new linguistic theories can be effectively applied to language pedagogy. Yet if for no other reason than that the new generation of ESOL/ESD teachers will be oriented toward the new points of view, the experimental application of these theories seems assured. Undoubtedly in the seventies, as in the past, some of the materials built on the "latest ideas" will be unworkable nonsense. As I stated earlier, I have every confidence that good teachers will quickly recognize them as such. At the same time I would predict that generative-transformational theory will ultimately make its positive contribution to our field, finding its place alongside the best of the past wisdom. I am confident that there will be gradual evolution rather than violent revolution in ESOL pedagogy, or, to return to my original metaphor, that the new generation ESOL will be a legitimate offspring of the creature born some thirty years ago.

The Compatibility of TESOL and Bilingual Education

James E. Alatis

TESOL has always had a role in bilingual education. Every bilingual education program in the U.S. must include an effective ESOL component, and every ESOL program must recognize the importance of the mother tongue. The polarization between teachers of ESOL and bilingual educators must cease. The two fields must be defined and their historical development related. Neither field should be associated with "compensatory" education. The mental deprivation theory is condemmed as "bad observation, bad theory and bad practice." The TESOL guidelines for teacher preparation show that ESOL and bilingual education are thoroughly compatible. Increased opportunities for teacher education as well as training is the prime need for both fields. Teachers of ESOL and specialists in bilingual education must form a coalition. The various existing professional organizations must unite toward a common purpose and govern their own profession.

With the recent resurgence of governmental interest and activity in bilingual education, both in legislation, court actions, and even, I am told, White House Conferences, the following question is often asked: Does TESOL have a role in bilingual education? My immediate answer to that question is: Yes, of course! TESOL has *always* had a role in bilingual education, whether by "TESOL" we mean simply the field of teaching

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English to speakers of other languages, or the professional organization from whose name the acronym derives. TESOL involves, almost by definition, bilingual education -- certainly *one part* of bilingual education, and a very important part, at that. We are, after all, "Teachers of Speakers of Other Languages." Thus, in the very name of the association there is recognition of the fact that there are at least *two* languages involved. Indeed, some people consider TESOL and bilingualism to be synonymous. For example, Mary Finocchiaro begins one of her articles in the *TESOL Quarterly* (Finocchiaro, p. 3) identifying what she considers to be the two desired terminal objectives of most TESOL courses -- these objectives are, she says, bilingualism and biculturalism. Thus, to Mary Finocchiaro and other leaders in the field of ESOL, bilingualism is the 'terminal behavior' that ESOL teachers strive to produce in their students.

There are, of course, various definitions of bilingualism, bilinguals, and bilingual education. Einar Haugen defines bilinguals as "users of more than one language." To use a language," he says, "does not necessarily entail mastering all its skills or its entire range: often it is enough, for example, to understand it when spoken, or to read it when written. Even the students in our language classes are bilinguals after a fashion, though one is tempted to call most of them semilingual." (Haugen, p. 35) The Bilingual Education Act (Sen. Cranston) defines bilingual education as follows: "...bilingual education involves the use of two languages, *one of which is English* (emphasis supplied), as a medium of instruction. Both languages are used for the same student population-not as an isolated effort, but as a key component of a program embracing a total curriculum." (Cranston, p. 38).

Now whether bilingualism and TESOL are in fact the same can probably be debated. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the two cannot be separated: as Bernard Spolsky has said, "Any bilingual education program in the United States must include an effective ESOL component, and any ESOL program that ignores the children's first language is likely to be ineffective." (Spolsky, p. 327) ESOL provides a strategy, Spolsky contends, for the teaching of standard English to children for whom there is a language barrier to education. Bilingual education encourages the provision of a transitional or maintained education also in the child's language. Now, transitional education introduces *"some* degree of training in the native language(s)...into the early grades in the hope of reducing the children's sense of alienation in an English-speaking world. (However,) its goals go no further than to produce what is called 'transitional bilingualism,' a step on the way to integration into the English-speaking world...it is hardly less discriminatory than earlier (assimilation) policies, since it does not provide for advanced training in (the native language) and does not give their communities any hope of continuing to exist as ethnic identities within our country." (Haugen, p. 36) Maintained education, on the other hand encourages the maintenance of the mother tongue; and language maintenance, in fact, has *never, never* been discouraged by specialists in the field of English as a second language. Indeed, it is the thesis of this paper that TESOL and bilingual education, if not absolutely synonymous, are certainly and thoroughly compatible.

However, there is an unfortunate polarization which seems to be developing between teachers of English to speakers of other languages and their bilingual education colleagues. As Bernard Spolsky has explained

it to me, the argument goes something like this: A particular ethnic group will say, "In the beginning you did nothing for us. First, there was the Direct Method, and that prohibited the use of the native language. You ignored us and our language. And then, seeing that people didn't know English, you decided that you have to *teach* them properly. And the *method* of teaching them English was called TESOL. It is a *method* and it comes out of Washington, D.C., and it's linguistics. Then there needs to be an advance over that because that ignores the students' native language, and so the next stage is bilingual education, and that's *another* method that comes out of somewhere else, maybe Miami, or Texas. Then there's an even higher stage, and that's bicultural education. One begins to wonder what the next 'method' is, and he learns that next in the sequence is bilingual/bicultural education, and that that is the new 'method,' which is going to supplant that which came before and which in turn supplemented what came before that, and so on, ad infinitum, in a vicious circle. TESOL, in that progression, is the thing that preceded bilingual education, is now out of date, and has to be replaced. The sad part about all this is that such misconceptions have been perpetuated in some rather august, supposedly "scholarly" publications. For example, take the following: "...any *method* of teaching a second language that stresses only skills, e.g. the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), is not going to produce a bicultural individual." (Ulibarri, p. 231, emphasis added) Or the following "...when the TESOL *movement* came into prominence, many people were hopeful that this would alleviate the problem(s) of underachievement..." (Ulibarri, pp. 243-44, emphasis added) What these people do not understand is that TESOL is *not* a method, *nor* a movement.

It is either the *field*, or the professional *organization*, both of which are in a state of dynamic, relevant, ever-changing development.

These arguments from false assumptions, this penchant for stereotype, are simply reflections of a naive search for panaceas and easy solutions to deep social and educational problems. There *is*, of course, something *artificial* in this "freezing" of "methods" or "movements" in an attempt to understand history. The freezing procedure is something like taking a single frame of a movie film and studying it. It gives a photograph, with all the virtues and weaknesses of a photograph, as a representative of changing and developing institutions or organisms. We try to make our subject manageable;...*but* we have to buy manageability at the cost of losing complete realism.

People who try to "freeze" history and argue from stereotypes act as though TESOL has been asleep, like Rip Van Winkle, for the past thirty-five years. They are wrong! They create a divisiveness that does not help *any* of us. "TESOL is bad. Bilingualism is good." But all this depends on how we understand these terms, and how we define them. A very solid professional colleague in ESOL *and* bilingual education was quoted not too long ago in a Canadian newspaper as saying that "Bilingualism is a danger." What this person meant, of course, was that forcing all French-speakers in Canada to learn English presented the danger of subordinating the mother tongue, causing assimilation, and eventually eradicating French. What this colleague was advocating was the subordination of *English* to the position of a *second* (i.e., *secondary)* language, and the maintenance of French as the *primary*, or dominant language. Yet, in the U.S., the statement that "bilingualism is dangerous" would be taken to mean the exact opposite: i.e., that native

language maintenance is *not* a good thing. Thus, if we are not careful of our definitions, and of the sociocultural settings in which we cast them, everything we believe in and agree about, may turn out to be "bad." We must keep our own lines straight and keep the people who make our laws, implement them, and interpret them, straight in *their* thinking.

I should like to dispel some of the misconceptions that may be contributing to the polarization about which I have been speaking. First, we must not lose sight of the fact that among the main characteristics of the teaching of English as a second language in the United States has been the fact that this field has from its inception been inextricably intertwined with the field of linguistics. (See Moulton, pp. 102 ff.) It is natural, therefore, that following our friends, the linguists, we in the field of English as a second language have placed great importance on the primacy of language -- and of spoken language at that! However, it must be remembered that the first linguists were also anthropologists and by definition (or rather, by profession) were interested in the culture of any language that they might be studying. Further, the linguists contributed to our view of language their SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE which insisted upon the objective observation of facts and began with the dispelling of myths, misconceptions, and prejudices about language which had often been used by insecure people, who were in important positions, to assert *their* superiority over those less fortunate than themselves. These self-styled Shamans used inaccurate information about the nature of language as a weapon for discrimination against their fellow human beings. What is most unfortunate is that these human beings were often defenseless young children. The linguists, on the

other hand, felt that all languages were worthy of study in and of themselves, and that each language was specifically well suited to carry on the business of the culture whose vehicle of communication it was.

Among the most important contributions that linguistics has made to the teaching of English as a second language is the concept of CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS, and we must emphasize here that the linguists and those who followed them insisted upon both a contrastive *linguistic* analysis *and* a contrastive *cultural* analysis of source *and* target language *and* cultures.

TESOL, the field and the organization, is founded upon the philosophy of language teaching enunciated long ago by Charles C. Fries. It is designed to break the shackles of monolingualism and bring about mutual respect and understanding among people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As far back as 1955, Fries wrote "the fundamental purpose...of language teaching is to achieve an understanding, as complete as possible, between people of different linguistic backgrounds." (Fries p. 10) Further, he said, "...to deal with the culture and life of a people is *not just an adjunct*...but an *essential feature at every stage of language learning*." (Fries, p. 14, emphasis added)

In view of statements made by Fries, one of the acknowledged leaders of the field of TESOL, it is somewhat surprising to hear some people, who should know better, accuse teachers of English as a second language of "linguistic imperialism" and "cultural aggressiveness." Thus one reads, for example: "The *sole* objective of English as a second language is to make non-English speakers more competent in English." (Cranston,

p. 59, emphasis supplied) Such accusations are simply not well-founded! Taking the lead from their friends, the linguists, teachers of English as a second language have always held, as B.J. Robinett has told us, an "additive" rather than a "replacive" philosophy when they have taught standard English as a second language or second dialect. (See Robinett, p. 204) That is, they have attempted to add a new variety of language to a student's repertoire rather than to eradicate or replace one which he already possesses. And they have hoped to impart to their students the ability to switch codes instinctively so as to use that language or that dialect which is most appropriate and which evokes the greatest amount of cooperation and the least amount of resistance in any given situation. From the standpoint of culture, this philosophy views differing cultures as *complementary* rather than *contradictory* ways of organizing the social world.

A majority of teachers of English as a second language have been, and still are, bilingual and bicultural individuals themselves. A large number of them have been Fulbright scholars whose success depended on sympathy for, empathy with, and a knowledge of the language and culture of the country to which they were sent to teach. Any Fulbrighter who did not believe that he had as much to learn from the people of the host country as he had to teach was not worth his salt, and many such failed in their assignments. The truly successful Fulbrighters were those who really believed that they were embarking on a *reciprocal*, hence *mutual*, educational exchange experience. And, all the while, we were teaching ESL to large numbers of foreign students on American university campuses, often ridiculed by our colleagues in other departments because we felt it was as important to know other people's languages and

cultures as it was for them to learn about ours. I am convinced that it is these early leaders in ESL who made such a great contribution to the exploding of the "melting pot" myth and the replacing of it by the idea of cultural pluralism. And I believe that people who make unfounded accusations against the TESOL profession have not read any of C.C. Fries' writings, or Mary Finocchiaro's, or those of any of our other acknowledged leaders, and do not know the first thing about TESOL. Teachers of English as a second language have *always* recognized the dual language and dual cultural basis of bilingualism!

I must confess that I have found it very difficult to understand the source of these accusations and the rationale behind them. A possible explanation has been provided by Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt. It seems that, somewhere in the development of TESOL as a field and as an organization, it has become associated with "compensatory" rather than with "quality education." This association is, in turn, related to specific pieces of Federal legislation such as Title I of the ESEA and the Head Start Program. As Bruce Fraser has said in another context, "Many of (these) programs contained a language intervention component designed to 'improve' the language of the children in the program -- to improve the language so that the children could eventually acquire the language of the educated white middle class -- Standard English.It was psychologists such as Bereiter and Englemann who argued that many minority children...had an inferior, deficient language, and thus needed special *compensatory* education." (Fraser, p. 94, emphasis added) We in TESOL, on the other hand, have spent a good part of our lives, our entire careers, in fact in trying to convince the public that the children we wish to teach are not backward, mentally inferior, or stupid, but simply *speakers of other languages*.

As (William) Labov has written regarding the genetic inferiority and verbal deprivation theory: "That educational psychology should be strongly influenced by a theory so false to the facts of language is unfortunate; but that children should be the victims of this ignorance is intolerable." He condemns this view as "bad observation, bad theory, and bad practice." He concludes: "It may seem that the fallacies of the verbal deprivation theory are so obvious that they are hardly worth exposing; I have tried to show that it is an important job for us to undertake." (Labov, p. 34) We did undertake that job at the 20th Georgetown University Round Table and, I felt, we succeeded in exposing these theories in 1969. But perhaps this is where I made my mistake. I assumed the job was finished. This is probably why I could not understand how anybody could possibly associate TESOL with compensatory education. TESOL has steadfastly rejected the notion that non-English-speaking children were *culturally* disadvantaged. We have specifically *rejected* the theory that these children are victims of *inferior* culture or *inferior* socialization by inadequate parents, or a stifling of cognitive stimulation in the preschool years, or an *inferior* intellectual endowment. We have *opposed* the isolation of these children in special classes for the socially and emotionally disturbed. We have insisted that teachers must be *educated*, rather than merely trained, to respect the potential strengths of the linguistically different rather than be armed by a set of mythologies masquerading as theories of social science, which only discourage the youth of ethnic minorities from investing in education. We have insisted that ESOL is not synonymous with "remedial English" or "remedial reading," but consists of a highly specialized form of English instruction. Caution: As historian, I note a parallel development of false accusations and attacks being levied against bilingual education.

There may, indeed, be a handful of people who teach ESOL and who are in fact perpetrating the kind of abuses of which the whole profession has been accused. There *are* some who would reduce the training of teachers to the development of teaching skills used in a replicative sense. But these people are not the qualified, educated, experienced, and dedicated TESOL experts whom the profession recognizes as leaders in the field. We have insisted that to be a qualified member of the TESOL profession requires a considerable amount of rigorous and highly specialized preparation.

In May of 1970 a conference was held during which a statement of qualifications and guidelines for preparation of teachers of English to speakers of other languages was developed. Eight broad guidelines were adopted regarding the minimum requirements in the preparation of a specialist in TESL/TEFL. Among these eight, three in particular are relevant to the matter of bilingualism:

1. (The teacher of English as a second language should) have personal qualities which contribute to his success as a classroom teacher, insure understanding and respect for his students and their cultural setting, and make him a perceptive and involved member of his community.

3. (The teacher of English as a second language should) have had the experience of learning another language and acquiring a knowledge of is structure; and have a conscious perception of another cultural system. If possible, the language and cultural system should be related to that of the population with which he is to work.

8. (The teacher of English as a second language should) have a sophisticated understanding of the factors which contribute to the

life styles of various peoples, and which determine both their uniqueness and their interrelationships in a pluralistic society. (Statement of qualifications, p. 73)

The preface to these guidelines, written by Albert H. Marckwardt, states that they were *not* specifically designed for teachers in bilingual schools, but suggests that they would clearly have many elements in common with the preparation of such teachers. (Cf. Chapter 7: Appendix p. 338) What we are saying is that TESOL and bilingual education are inextricably intertwined. They are mutually supportive and natural allies. The TESOL guidelines *demonstrate* that the field of English as a second language and bilingual and bicultural education are thoroughly compatible. Indeed, I believe that English as a second language is an essential component of any good bilingual education program. The mother language and culture are equally essential, and I believe we can all agree that it is better to teach a child to read and write in his native language before introducing him to the second language, and that "initial instruction" and literacy in the home language is an effective means for teaching children both subject matter-and-content *and* English. I believe we can also agree that teacher *education* is in the heart of the matter, and that many, *many* more opportunities for teacher education, as well as education for *teachers* of teachers, is the prime desideratum for TESOL and bilingual education.

There are those who are fearful that the Bilingual Education Act has sounded the last ding-dong of doom for TESOL. Some people find cause for despair in this prospect, while others may even rejoice in it. But if that gong should sound, ask not for whom the bell tolls, for it tolls for *all* of us. But there is no need to despair. TESOL has never been stronger.

And it is strong because it has been relevant and responsive throughout its existence as reflected in the development of its "domains." TESOL, the field and the organization, has great vitality and a sense of youthful idealism and social mission that distinguishes it from all other professional organizations. TESOL is built on an *idea*, based on a humanistic approach toward removing the so-called "curse of Babel." Our abiding belief in cultural and linguistic pluralism and in equality of educational opportunity seems to unite us and to give us that special excitement and relevance that no other organization or field has. TESOL as an organization is indomitable.

What we need is more cooperation between, and a coalition of, teachers of English as a second language and specialists in bilingual education, who can work together toward a common purpose, and that purpose is to help thousands of children throughout the United States to reach their full potential as citizens of our increasingly complex and troubled society. Such cooperation will contribute to the solution of our most pressing national problems -- the problems of our poverty-stricken minorities, the crowded urban ghetto, the beleaguered ethnic barrios, the alienated immigrant colony, and the isolated Indian reservation.

But first we must put our own house in order. We must strive to know ourselves as professionals and as a profession. We must be a *unified* profession, masters of its own fate. The TESOL and bilingual education segments of the profession must learn to live together in a new symbiotic relationship.

It is not uncommon for two fields such as TESOL and bilingual education to have a common, stated goal but, because of the professional anarchy

which prevails, for one group to neutralize the other. The proliferation, duplication, and internecine conflict among organizations consumes energy and displaces constructive programs needed for development of an effective profession. We need planned integration of interrelated language groups, ATESL, TESOL, NABE, LSA, ACTFL, NCTE, MLA, and CAL, each with specialized functions, all directed toward common purposes.

Unfortunately, teachers at all levels and in all fields have habitually *reflected*, not led, the forces of society. If the language profession is to acquire and maintain the intellectual strength and political power necessary in these troubled times, a new concept of the professional, and a new concept of a unified professional entity must be created. We must recognize that jurisdictional battles are a waste of energy and frustrate the realization of our common goals. It is *we* who are being weakened, not the laymen who do not know our history or understand our mission. We often allow laymen to make decisions of a professional nature about our own profession. This control of our profession by laymen becomes more and more entrenched if we fail in what is perhaps our most important educational mission, and that is the education of those Congressmen, lawyers, and Supreme Court Justices who conduct the important affairs of our nation. We must learn to control *ourselves* and govern our own profession. Those organizations which use their energies to produce such a unified professional entity will ultimately receive the backing of the majority of teachers, of the American people, and of the Government which represents them. And, while we must develop programs that are clearly influenced by social imperatives, which reflect the urgencies of our times, which relate directly to the primary *issues* of our times, we must remember that governments do

not fund programs to overthrow themselves. We must educate the general public about our profession; *we* must have the final word on teacher education; we must establish and maintain machinery for protection of competent and ethical teachers; we must abandon our own petty provincialisms; and we must maintain and support only the most *effective*, and *honest*, professional organizations. Our teaching will never be as effective as it should be until we learn to govern our own profession. The very nature of successful teaching derives from the involvement which provides the dynamics of self-fulfillment, improvement, productive change, and intellectual liberation.

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Linguistic and Communicative Competence*

Christina Bratt Paulston

In the first part of this paper I examine the notion of communicative competence as the social rules of language use and argue that there are important implications for language teaching in using such a concept of communicative competence rather than taking it to mean simply linguistic interaction in the target language. In the second part of the paper I explore what those implications are on the classroom technique level.

In this paper, I would like to examine the notion of communicative competence and the implications we can draw from it for language teaching. I am using the term in Dell Hymes' sense (1967, 1972 a-b-c-d) to refer to the social rules of language use, and I argue that there are important implications for language teaching in using such a concept of communicative competence rather than taking it to mean simply linguistic interaction in the target language.

The impetus for the paper came from my experience in Sweden last year[1]. I spent my sabbatical leave in my home town, Stockholm, which I had left at the age of eighteen. I found that, although I was still fluent in the language, aspects of Swedish culture had become foreign to me and

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*This paper has prospered from the incisive and constructive criticism of Mary Newton Bruder and Sarah Grey Thomason for which I am deeply grateful. I am also grateful to my students in sociolinguistics who forcefully argued their points and caused me to modify certain notions. Long overdue thanks go to Karen Billingsley for skillful and patient typing of many messy manuscripts. Whatever moot points remain are entirely my own responsibility. This paper was presented at the 1974 TESOL Convention in Denver, Colorado.

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[1]A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the Seminar on English Language Teaching sponsored by the British Council and the American Centre, Stockholm, November 16, 1973.

that I consequently failed at times to communicate efficiently. I reflected on the implications of this failure in light of my reading in sociolinguistics,[2] and this paper attempts to formulate the significance certain sociolinguistic concepts have for language teaching. There is a section in a paper by Bernstein (1972: 55-69) which ends "These are poorly worked out thoughts." I should also offer such an admission here, but I want to add that I strongly feel that these are thoughts we need to work out.

Within the last five years there has been an increasing -- justified -- concern for communicative activities in language teaching. We see evidence of this everywhere, in the titles of papers and articles and dissertations. Last year an entire conference was held in England on "The Communicative Teaching of English."[3] Savignon's dissertation "Study of the Effect of Training in Communicative Skills as Part of a Beginning College French Course on Student Attitude and Achievement in Linguistic and Communicative Competence" proves beyond any doubt the necessity for such activities, where "the emphasis was always at getting meaning across." (1971: 24). And there's the rub; what kind of meaning? Rivers uses communicative competence as a synonym for "spontaneous expression" (1973:26), and it is rather typical of language teachers and psycholinguists (see, for example, Miller 1970 and Titone 1970) that they tend to equate communicative compentence with the ability to carry out linguistic inter-

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[2]There is an extensive bibliography on sociolinguistics in John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (1964). There have appeared two articles in the *TESOL Quarterly* which attempt to make this body of knowledge relevant to the field of TESOL: Hannerz (1973) and Grimshaw (1973). I especially want to cite the works of Ervin-Tripp (1973) and Gumperz (1971). See also the book review of the latter by Allen D. Grimshaw in *Language Sciences*, No. 27 (October, 1973), 29-35. See also the bibliography in Paulston (1973), selected for the classroom teacher in cross-cultural situations.

[3]*The Communicative Teaching of English*. AILA/BAAL Seminar, University of Lancaster, March 30-April 1, 1973. Program Chairman, Christopher Candlin.

action in the target language. As Halliday points out, it is predominant in our thinking about language that we want it to allow us "to communicate something. We use language to represent our experience of the processes, persons, objects, abstractions, qualities, states and relations of the world around us and inside us." (1970: 145-146).[4] Sociolinguists and anthropologists are careful to distinguish this referential meaning of language from the social meaning language also carries. In Gumperz' terms:

> "effective communication requires that speakers and audiences agree both on the meaning of words and on the social import or values attached to choice of expression... We will use the term social significance or social meaning to refer to the social values implied when an utterance is used in certain context." (1971: 285)

A very large part of the criticism levelled against Chomsky concerns the inadequacy of his attempts to explain language in terms of the narrow notions of the linguistic competence of an ideal hearer-speaker in a homogeneous society. Such a speaker, says Hymes, is likely to become institutionalized if he simply produces any and all of the grammatical sentences of the language with no regard for their appropriateness (1972d: 277). John Lyons sums it up:

> It is frequently suggested that there is a conflict between the sociolinguistic and the psycholinguistic approach to language; and furthermore that generative grammar (which according to Chomsky is a branch of cognitive psychology) must necessarily adopt the latter. I do not believe that this is so.

[4]Halliday calls this the ideational meaning of language; in this paper I will use the more common term of referential meaning.

> The two points of view, the sociolinguistic and the psycholinguistic can certainly be distinguished at the moment (and linguists tend to favor the one or the other according to their particular interests). But ultimately they must be reconciled. The ability to use one's language correctly in a variety of socially determined situations is as much and as central a part of linguistic 'competence' as the ability to produce grammatically well-formed sentences. (1970: 287)

The term Hymes has suggested for a knowledge of the rules for understanding and producing both the referential and the social meaning of language is *communicative competence*. Since the publication of Gumperz and Hymes' "The Ethnography of Communication" in 1964, a great many sociolinguists have been trying to discover and understand the rules of speaking which underlie utterances and invest them with social meaning. It is customary in the literature to point out that we are only at the beginning stages of adequate descriptive work,[5] but we certainly are beginning to see patterned processes with inherent rules in a multitude of speech encounters, from insults and "rapping" to systems of addressing people and switching codes. In the literature on linguistic variation and the social meaning of this variation, the term communicative competence is almost invariably used in Hymes' sense. (See, for example, Jakobovits 1970,

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[5]*Descriptive* is a pejorative word in the social sciences, but one cannot build a theory without initial data. Furthermore, good description is not possible without theoretical analysis; for an example, see Labov on "Rules for Ritual Insult" in Kochman. See also Hymes on the need for typologies.

Osser 1971, Kernan 1971, and Slobin 1967.)[6] I find it crucial that we as language teachers do the same thing. It may seem picayune to quibble over the meaning of a term; like Alice, we could just say it to make it mean what we want. But it isn't quibbling; it is of the utmost importance. Communicative competence is not simply a term; it is a concept basic to understanding social interaction. It is commonplace to point out that the tenets and concepts of a discipline profoundly influence the questions one asks and the solutions one seeks as well as limit the phenomena one observes. In Rivers' sense of the term I would concentrate on teaching the referential meaning of language; in Hymes' term I would go beyond to the social meaning of language. I hope to make clear why I think the social meaning is so important in language teaching.

Wardhaugh points out that:

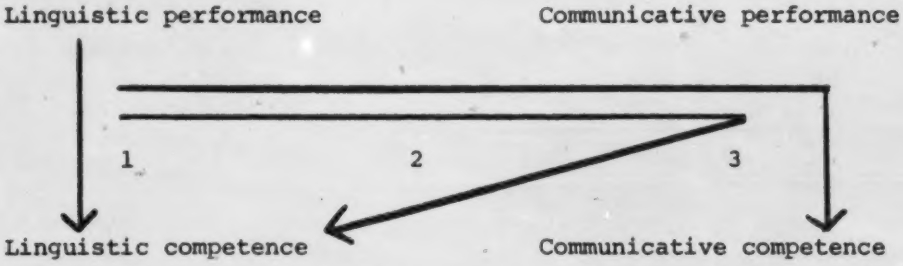
> In each historical period an attempt is made, conscious or otherwise, to unite the prevailing knowledge of language, the prevailing understanding of language learning and the prevailing concept of education goals into a pattern of teaching. (1968: 81)

I think that is what we are partially trying to do in language teaching today, and which explains the interest in the notions of communicative competence. If you accept Hymes' notion that a model of language must be designed with a face toward communicative conduct and social life

[6]Ervin-Tripp uses the term socio-linguistic competence in order to "exclude the many forms of skill in non-linguistic communication" (p. 293). There are also other uses such as Hugh Mehan's "interactional competence"; see "Language Using Abilities," *Language Sciences*, No. 22 (October, 1972), 1-10, but they all recognize the basic notions of the referential and social functions inherent in Hymes' *Communicative Competence*. See also Robin Fawcett, "Language Functions and Language Variation in a Cognitive Model of Communication," in the Conference Preprints of "The Communicative Teaching of English," mimeo, for a discussion of the literature.

(Hymes 1972d: 278), then it follows that a model for teaching language must also be designed with a face toward communicative conduct and social life.

I would like to suggest a model for language teaching which sets up a framework for identifying and discussing strategies and techniques in the teaching process, taking into account the social meaning of language. The model looks like this:



Prior to a discussion of the implications for language teaching, the terms, especially that of communicative performance, merit careful consideration. By linguistic competence, Chomsky means the native speaker's knowledge of his own language, the set or system of internalized rules about the language which enables him to create new grammatical sentences and to understand sentences spoken to him, to reject *the ate goldfish John* as un-English and to recognize that *flying planes can be dangerous* is ambiguous. Linguistic performance is the actual utterance, what the speaker actually says, which often imperfectly reflects the underlying competence (Chomsky 1968). Communicative competence is the social rules of language use, "the systemic sets of social interactional rules" in Grimshaw's terms (1973: 109). I have added the notion of *communicative performance*[7] as I need a term which will designate communication which carries no distinctive social significance. In the real world this is

[7]I know full well that this is not in keeping with Hymes' framework.

not possible, but in the artificial world of language classroom there are communicative activities which lack specific deep structures of social meaning. I suspect this statement needs further modification: an activity like Twenty Questions does not carry any distinctive social meaning of the specific language it is played in; the students simply function with their native rules of speaking, and whatever social meaning lies in playing Twenty Questions in Spanish, French or English comes from the social interactional rules of the subculture of the classroom, but it has nothing to do with developing communicative competence in the target language. I also need a term which can be used to describe an encounter where different social meanings are encoded in, or decoded from, the same linguistic expression. In such a case we get communicative ambiguity, the same surface behavior but with the deep structures in two separate sets of communicative competence -- the very opposite of Gumperz' "efficient communication." Let me try to clarify this with a representative anecdote. In Sweden, we celebrated Thanksgiving by having my immediate family and friends for a traditional turkey dinner. I was busy in the kitchen and came belatedly into the livingroom where my sister-in-law had just arrived. In impeccable Swedish I asked her politely, "Do you know everyone?" Any native American would correctly interpret that to mean that I wanted to know if she had been introduced to those guests she had not previously met. She looked at me sourly and said, "I don't know everyone, but if you are asking me if I have greeted everyone, I have." Fussed as I was and in such an archetypical American situation, I had momentarily forgotten that proper manners demand that Swedes do not wait to be introduced by a third party, but go around the room, shake hands with everyone and say their name aloud to those they have not previously met. Any child knows that, and my sister-

in-law felt I had reprimanded her for bad manners, her faulty sharing of a systemic set of social interactional rules. Clearly, the meaning of an interaction is easily misinterpreted if the speakers don't share the same set of rules, as in this example of noneffective communication where the same surface structure carried different social meaning.

In language teaching we are always dealing with cross-cultural encounters, and what typically happens is that the student applies his native rules of speaking to the target language, rules which may imply a very different social significance. Here is another anecdote from my Swedish visit. Americans ask many questions, often of a rather personal nature,[8] and they are also (presumably as a consequence) very skilled at avoiding answering questions. This is simply an accepted part of communicative competence. On a superficial level, communicative competence may simply be defined as tact and good manners, and people not sharing that same system will consider others rude and tactless, just as the stereotyped American is considered rude and tactless in Europe. Well, in Sweden I asked a question of a confidential family matter that I expected not to be answered; to my surprise it was, only to have my family criticize me for my inexcusable tactless behavior. My answer that the question need not have been answered was totally dismissed; according to Swedish rules of speaking such questions

[8]But note that what exactly constitutes a personal question is culturally determined. However much Swedes look askance at American questioning behavior, they are not unlikely to inquire of a friend the amount of his salary. I am here referring to questions about number of children, kind of occupation, place of birth, etc.

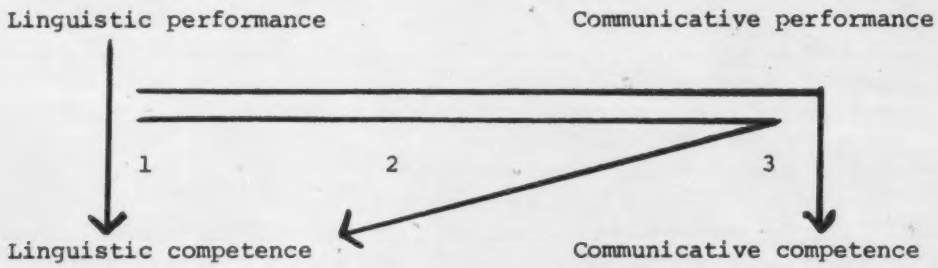
are not asked; but according to the same rules, questions asked are answered without subterfuge. By American rules, on the contrary, you may ask but without expecting an answer. In this encounter there was nothing faulty with the linguistic aspects -- we were both native speakers of Swedish -- nor with the communicative performance -- we both understood that I sought a piece of information -- but the social significance certainly was at variance. I was applying the wrong set of rules of communicative competence.

This anecdote also illustrates another aspect of communicative competence: it is easier to keep one's linguistic codes separate than one's social codes as one often is not aware of the social codes on a conscious level until they are violated. It is much easier to be bilingual than bicultural.

So far I have said very little about teaching. Oller (1973: 7) at his satirical best points out that it is very fashionable to say that you don't know much about a topic before you go on to discuss it so that you can pass yourself off as a bit of humble genius. Still, I don't think we know very much of what really goes on in language acquisition. Empirically, however, I know what our students must do in order to learn English. I have outlined elsewhere the process of mechanical-meaningful-communicative kinds of exercises that the learner needs to go through in order to internalize the grammatical rules of the language (Paulston, 1970: 187-193 and 1971: 197-208). I am more convinced than ever after four months of teaching non-academic adults of the necessity of the initial stage of acquiring basic skills through habituation,[9] just as I remain convinced of the need

[9]Rivers uses the more elegant term cognition to refer to this stage. We both, however, refer to the same initial stage of acquiring basic knowledge of "units, categories, and functions." "Through habituation" is of course a moot point, but I am in good company, see John Carroll, "Current Issues in Psycholinguistics and Second Language Teaching," *TESOL Quarterly*, 5:2 (June, 1971), 101-114.

for the communicative drills in order to internalize the rules. As Rivers (1972: 76) points out in her excellent "Talking Off the Top of Their Heads," we next need autonomous interaction activities where the students use language for the normal purpose of language: establishing social relations, seeking and giving information, hiding one's intentions, etc. It is at this point we need to become sensitive to whether these are activities for developing communicative competence or merely exercises in communicative performance. It may well be wrong to say *merely;* it is valid to ask how much communicative competence one needs to teach in foreign language teaching. At this point we might consider the model again:



I find it very dubious that Strategy 1 can be efficient in language learning. Merely practice in the rules and utterances of a language is not likely to produce fluent speakers, a fact to which both the products of the grammar-translation and classic audiolingual methods attest. Strategy 2, which combines skill-getting exercises (drills, dialogues, rules, etc,) with skill-using activities of the kind Savignon outlines in her dissertation, will under propitious circumstances (good programs, trained teachers, motivated students), result in linguistic competence. In foreign language teaching that may be all one asks. It is the contention of this paper that the most efficient language teaching follows Strategy 3.

The necessity to develop communicative competence is especially important in second language and second dialect teaching where the fact that the speakers are using the same national language easily obscures the equally important fact that the speakers may not share the same rules for speaking. And even if this is apparent, the faulty social meaning conveyed is likely to be just tacitly registered. There are in the United States very strong constraints on teaching adults to behave.[10] Sociolinguistic rules, it is felt, one should learn as a child, and teaching adults such rules implies that they were not "properly" brought up. Furthermore, and I am speculating, there may well be a feeling that it is chauvinistic to correct immigrant-like behavior. In their socialization process, Americans are taught that anti-immigrant behavior is un-American. There is no corresponding attitude in Sweden, e.g., where immigrants are at times subjected to public behavior that would never be tolerated in the United States. Whatever the reasons, native American teachers are embarrassed to correct adults' improper behavior, that is, behavior with deviant social meaning which we primarily perceive as improper. However, there are two types of behavior teachers tend not to condone: the use of taboo words in inappropriate contexts and behavior which carries deviant sexual meaning; no one hesitates to inform our students that *bullshit*, a term they pick up very quickly, is not an acceptable substitute for *nonsense* in the classroom.

This constraint on teaching social rules of communicative competence is interesting in that it reveals how very deepseated our belief is that our rules are the only real ones. The constraint on correction only holds for the rules of communicative competence in the native tongue. In foreign language classrooms, American teachers have no hesitation in teaching the

[10] It is likely this is a universal tendency, varying in degree only.

quaint customs of the French and the Spanish. If the inhibition on correcting adults is a universal tendency, one could use the lack of such inhibition in either language of a bilingual as an indication of the degree to which he is bicultural. I think it is important that teachers understand the constraints on their behavior towards the student. It is not rude to correct a student whose behavior you react to as deviant; I have begun to think that it is a necessary element in language teaching. The important thing to remember is not to imply any inherent moral superiority of one rule over an other, to remember the difference between adding rules and substituting rules. In the latter case, one obviously rejects the value of the first set of rules, rejects the very culture of the student. However, it gives a skewed picture not to make very clear here that the emphasis should be on *teaching* communicative behavior, not on correcting forms which deviate from it.

In the matter of second language or second dialect speakers, the teaching situation is likely to be that of the public schools, where the constraint on correcting deviant behavior does not hold; indeed, some teachers see it as their major task. But the teacher's belief that his rules of communicative competence are the only real and acceptable rules remains exactly as invariable, and with the constraints on correction removed, there is no hesitation here in making this belief explicit. I pointed out in an article several years ago that the process of learning a foreign and a second language might be a very different psychological experience (Paulston 1972: 351-355). I now think that this difference between learning as a foreign and a second language stems from the social meaning of the L_2. The communicative competence rules of a Chicano Spanish speaker are likely to include the social significance of using English

even before he can speak a word of it. By itself, there is nothing wrong in this; a Moroccan boy will have also rules for the social meaning of classical Arabic long before he can speak it. In the latter case, everything he learns in learning Classical Arabic supports his self-development, his sense of ego, his father's values. It is the process of trying to eradicate an existing set of social interactional rules in order to substitute another which is so counterproductive in language teaching. We are at present puzzled by the fact that upper and middle-class children suffer no ill effect from initial schooling in the L_2 while lower-class children do. It may well be that there is no attempt to interfere with the rules for communicative competence of the upper-class children -- this would mean, e.g., that Lambert's (Lambert and Tucker 1972) children speak French but the rules of speaking they originally learned for English -- while with the lower-class children one insists that they adopt the social interactional rules of the target language. I am merely speculating, but it should demonstrate that using Hymes' concept of communicative competence we can begin to ask some searching questions.

It should be clear, then, that the implications for language teaching that we can draw from the notions of communicative competence apply primarily to situations where the learners live in the country of the target language, whether they are second language speakers or foreign students.

Well, what do we teach? When we teach *How do you do* in the first lesson, we better also teach that it is only used in face to face encounters, and when we later do telephone conversations we can easily contrast the *Hello, this is John Doe* with *How do you do, I am John Doe.* Of course,

situational teaching has always included aspects of this but what we need to do is incorporate a systematic contrast of situational constraints on grammatical patterns.

We also need to incorporate teaching situational constraints on register variation. Many expressions which are socially inappropriate in English are caused by register interference. The Spanish speaker's *Dios mio* does not carry the same meaning as *My God*, but how is he to know that it is not a harmless expletive in English unless he is told so. We also need to teach our students to be sensitive to levels of style so that noting such levels becomes part of their language learning strategies. We run our students through dialogues like these:

Variations on a Theme #1

Last weekend Bill went to see a very popular movie, starring one of his favorite actors and a beautiful young actress. He's discussing it with Nancy.

NANCY: Hey Bill. What did you do over the weekend?
BILL: Saw the new flick with Peck and Welch.
NANCY: Oh, yeah? How was it?
BILL: Peck was great as usual, and well, you don't go to see great acting from Raquel.
NANCY: Know what you mean. All the guys go to watch Raquel. For me Peck is the drawing card. Gotta go to class-see you later.
BILL: So long.

On the way home on the bus Bill sits next to a lady who lives down the street. She is a good friend of Bill's parents.

MRS. CASSETTI: Did you have a pleasant weekend, Bill?
BILL: Yes, thank you. I studied quite a bit, but Saturday I took the evening off and went to the new movie with Gregory Peck and Raquel Welch.
MRS. CASSETTI: Oh, did you? Did you enjoy it?
BILL: Gregory Peck was very good-he always is. Raquel Welch isn't expected to be a great actress, I guess.
MRS. CASSETTI: Yes, I suppose you're right. All of the young men certainly seem to enjoy her movies. From my point of view Gregory Peck would be the reason for going. I have to get off here. It was nice to see you Bill.
BILL: It was nice talking to you. Goodbye, Mrs. Cassetti. (Bruder 1973)

We need to teach the small talk of such situations which tend to use phatic language: greetings, introductions, farewells. The students need to stand up and do introductions, greetings, etc. The nonverbal aspects of language are exceedingly important. I told my Swedish students, for instance, that in English it is the woman who first extends her hand in greeting -- the reverse of Swedish -- and that a man has to be prepared for the possibility that a woman will not shake hands with him, a very difficult point to learn for speakers from hand-shaking cultures. My students had lots of fun doing those.

When we did invitations, I made sure to tell them that the Swedish custom of "tacka for sist" (thanking for the last time) does not exist in English. The day after a dinner, party, or any such social occasion, a Swede calls his hostess and thanks her for a charming time. The absence of such a call will be perceived as unfriendly and raise speculations as to its cause. Clearly a Swedish hostess needs to know what not to expect as well as what to expect, for what is *not* said can also carry social meaning.

How is the teacher going to know that such rules are needed? The difficulty with so many rules of communicative competence is that we don't consciously know many of our own, much less those of another culture. This is where the teacher becomes an anthropologist, by listening to students, observing behavior and most of all by being aware and alert to possible conflicts. Over the years you amass quite a few rules; in the English Language Institute we even have a rule which says adult males don't walk hand in hand in the streets, courtesy of our Libyan students.

There are several classroom techniques for teaching communicative competence. I have already discussed the use of dialogues for teaching register variation. Judy Kettering in her *Communication Activities* (1974) uses them as one step in her unit on "Establishing and Maintaining Social Relations," which covers such speech encounters as greetings, partings, introductions, excuses, compliments, complaints, etc. These are exercises deliberately designed to develop communicative competence. This exercise on hiding feelings is self-explanatory (Kettering 1974: 37-40).

Hiding Feelings

Phrases

A. Formal
1. The {cake / dinner / soup / dessert} is very good, but I'm {not very hungry. / full / not well.}

2. Your new {dress / coat / hat / house} is very {interesting. / unusual. / nice.}

3. I can see your point.
I guess you're right.
I agree, but ...

B. Informal-Informal is not really applicable in this case. Either the more formal usage is used as above, or if you are good friends then you may be very honest and tell the person just what you think or feel.

Dialogues

A. Formal

1. A: How do you like my new dress?
B: Oh, it's very unusual
A: Shall I wear it to dinner tomorrow night, or shall I wear the blue and white one?
B: They are both nice, but I think I prefer the blue and white dress.

2. A: That was quite a party last night.
B: It sure was. Did you have a chance to meet Bill Jameson?
A: Just for a few minutes.

B: What did you think of him?
A: He seems quite intelligent, but I really only just met him.

3. A: Bob, you don't look well. Are you sick?
B: Well, I have felt better.
A: Take it easy.
B: Thanks, I will. Don't worry, I'm sure I'll feel better tomorrow.

Situations

1. A: Carol, I need some help.
B: What's the matter?
A: I can't decide what dress to wear to the party. What do you think?
B:

2. A: Don't I look different?
B: No. . .Oh! You got your hair cut!
A: I thought you'd never notice. Do you like it?
B:

B. Semi-Structured

1. A: Who was that girl that talked so much at the party?
B: Oh, that was Amy Demian, an old friend of mine.
A:
B: She's a sweet girl. Why, didn't you like her?
A:

2. Peter, you haven't eaten your cake!
B:
A: Oh, But I made it especially for you.
B:

C. Unstructured

1. You are invited to an American home for dinner. You don't like the salad but you ate it. They offer you more.
2. Your good friend is wearing a horrible shirt. He just bought it and asks you how you like it.
3. Your mother tells you that you don't look well. She asks you how you feel. You feel terrible but you want to go to the ball game and don't want her to know.
4. Your roommate, Wendy, is getting married to a man you really can't stand, even for a few minutes. She asks you to go to dinner with them to celebrate.

In all of these activities, there is a progression from tightly controlled language use, where the student is learning the social formulas to a situation where he can use them. The unstructured situations lend themselves

particularly well to role play. It is very difficult to lie, to complain, to turn someone down for a date in another language, and our students need to be taught how to do this in an appropriate manner. Note section 1B. In all of these encounters, the students are taught a formal and informal way for apologizing, saying thank you, etc.

Sometimes an activity seems to be ideal for teaching communicative competence but in fact is not. Problem-solving interaction activities are excellent for developing linguistic competence, but unless the teacher consciously sums up the discussion with comment on the relative acceptability in our culture of the alternative solutions, these activities merely confirm cultural bias. I tried several of Kettering's interaction activities in Sweden, and I didn't notice this cultural bias until I tried it with a mixed class. Here is the activity: (Kettering 1974: 76):

Dinner at an American Home

Read the following problem individually. Consider the possible solutions. You may add your own solution if you think you can improve on the ones given. Decide on the solution you think is the best one and be able to justify your solution.

Then discuss your solutions in your group, giving your choices and discussing the advantages and disadvantages of each. You must decide together on one solution only (that means that you may have to give up your own solution) and be able to justify it.

Meet as a class and discuss group decisions. REMEMBER: There is no one single right answer.

Time limit: approx. 20-30 minutes.

Problem

An American family asks you for dinner. They pick you up and take you to their home. They are very nice and try hard to make you forget how nervous and afraid you are about your English and the new customs. The wife has made a special dinner for you and has used her best dishes and tablecloth. She serves the food and you take a lot of the main dish to make her feel happy. You taste it and you *hate* it! It has liver in it and you never eat liver. She is waiting to see if you like the food. What do you do?

a) Excuse yourself and tell her you suddenly feel very ill.
b) Explain to her that you just don't like liver.
c) Try to eat the liver and pretend you like it.
d) Don't say anything and just don't eat it but eat a lot of other food.
e) Tell her your doctor told you never to eat liver because it makes you sick.
f)
g)

In the other classes, the students had settled on the rule I also have: Eat it and pretend you like it. So did the Swedes in this class, but the Finn said she would say nothing but not eat it, the Columbian said she would say her doctor had told her not to eat liver, and the German stated emphatically that she would tell the hostess that she didn't like it. I mention this because it is so very easy to delude oneself that this was an activity designed to develop communicative competence; in itself it is a typical communicative performance exercise. These types of exercises are excellent and necessary but one should recognize them for what they are.

Selekman (1973) developed a very simple exercise for his Hebrew class which is most effective:

Direct Line to Hebrew

Procedure:

1. Each student is given a phone number of a participating monolingual native speaker.

2. The student must call this number, introduce himself and indicate why he is calling-all of this in Hebrew, of course.

3. The student must find out a task that has already been planned for him to do and that the native speaker is ready to give to the student; for example in coordination with the "have to do something" structure my students were working with, one task was, "You have to bring a prayer book to Hebrew school tomorrow."

4. It is the student's problem to arrive at some understanding of the task if he does not immediately grasp what the native speaker is communicating.

5. The student should thank the native speaker, and make the proper farewell.

6. The student should go through with the task assigned, and be prepared to tell in class in Hebrew a summary of the phone conversation and the resulting activity.

There is a very high degree of the social use of language in such a brief encounter and the authenticity, in Stevick's sense (1971), of the situation is remarkably conducive to language learning.

Teaching in Sweden,[11] I was impressed with the effectiveness of role play in bringing about communicative activity in the classroom. Role play, like the interaction activities, does not automatically lend itself to developing communicative competence, but it can easily enough be slanted that way. In a role play about a car accident, developed by Britton and Lagoze (1974), the wife of one driver is angry with both the police and the young boy who hit their car. It can be useful to know how to express

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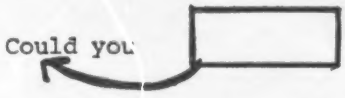
[11] I want to express my thanks to Michael Knight, Ingrid Freebairn-Smith and David Jones of the English Section of the Folk Universitetet of Stockholm for the kindness with which they received me. My time with them was for me very fruitful and I learned much.

anger with a policeman in an acceptable manner, and there's a wealth of sociolinguistic information in the directions and suitable phrases given for preparing for the role play. That particular role play is for a rather advanced class but they can be done on a very elementary level too.

This discussion about systemic sets of social interactional rules may sound hopelessly remote from your own classroom, especially as there are virtually no materials available yet. But let me finish by showing you how very simple it can be. I taught many bad lessons but here is one that went well, and it exemplifies the various steps one would wish to include for virtually every pattern. Actually it is only a segment of a lesson, forming the last twenty minutes of a ninety minute class. The teaching point was *Could* in polite requests. (Swedes say *can* in direct translation of *kan*). We began with a passage from the text where the pattern appeared. They identified the pattern and we reviewed the modal question form. I simply wrote:



on the board; a forty second explanation was quite sufficient. There were no drills in our text so I added two sets of mechanical drills for choral fluency practice and one meaningful chain drill where each student requested another to do something.

Next we did a brief dialogue of a telephone conversation which contained several requests. I played the tape twice while they followed in their books, memorizing the social formulas. We then did pupil-to-pupil work where the whole class was divided into pairs working simultaneously. The students in each pair would take turns reading the lines from the book while the other answered from memory until they could run through both parts

of the dialogue without looking at the text. This old technique is a remarkably quick way for a class to memorize brief dialogues.

Now they needed to use what they had practiced so we did some elementary role play. I had made up sets of cards where one card would say:

> You are in London on a business trip and you have Saturday free. You want to know if the British Museum is open and how much the entrance fee is.

The other card said:

> The British Museum is open Monday through Saturday, 9 AM to 5 PM. There is no entrance fee.

The students got a card each and then had to pretend to call up their partners and request whatever information the card instructed them to. As each set dealt with a different situation, it never got boring to hear each pair run through their dialogue. There was a great deal of student helping and correcting (I of course was not correcting them), which is always a sign that the communicative act has become more important than learning the linguistic forms. The students help and correct because they want to be sure meaning gets across.

It is the next step which it is so difficult to achieve in language teaching: the need for actual communication in the target language. I remembered Selekman's exercise and informed my students that they would have to call my neighbor, a monolingual English speaker, for their next week's assignment. Suddenly there was authenticity in making a telephone conversation in English, the socio-linguistic rules became real, and it made a difference beyond the learning of them if the polite requests for information were properly managed. As one student muttered on her way out, "Now I'll have to practice all day before I can call."

It would be unrealistic to demand that all lessons feature such authentic exercises, but if we want to teach our students to function in another language, we would do very well to systematically steer our teaching towards such activities which serve to teach not only language but also the social use of language.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS PERTINENT TO THE TEXT

TEFL (EFL) Teaching English as a Foreign Language...identifies programs of English language instruction in parts of the world where some other language is spoken, e.g., just as the study of Chinese in United States schools is classed as "foreign language" study, so the study of English in France comes under the heading of "foreign language" study. An English language program in Turkey, therefore, would be an example of a TEFL program.

TESL (ESL) Teaching English as a Second Language...identifies programs of English language instruction found in English speaking areas but intended to benefit non-English speaking persons in those areas, e.g., an English language program of instruction in London for Italian speakers living there would be an example of a TESL program; all English language courses for Spanish speakers offered in the New York City public schools are TESL programs. We can now make the following TEFL/TESL distinction: the same English language course for non-English speakers offered in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico and in Brooklyn, New York, would be given two different classifications, the one in Mayaguez would be an example of TEFL, and the one in Brooklyn would be TESL.

TESOD (ESOD) or SESD Teaching English to Speakers of Other Dialects or Standard English as a Second Dialect...identifies programs of General Standard English instruction, generally found in English speaking communities and intended to benefit English speakers who use a non-standard pattern of English, e.g. a course in General Standard American English for Cockney English speakers would be an example of TESOD.

TESOL (ESOL) Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages...is simply a broader classification of convenience to include all three already identified under one heading, i.e., TEFL, TESL, and TESOD are all specialized activities under the heading of TESOL.

These classifications can be conveniently projected to include other language study areas, e.g.,S for Spanish, C for Chinese, G for German, P for Portuguese, N for Navajo etc. For Spanish language study programs for example, we can establish the following classifications:

TSFL (SFL) Teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language...for Spanish language programs found in China, Japan, England, Turkey, the United States, etc.

TSSOD (SSOD) Teaching Spanish to Speakers of Other Dialects...as in the case of standard Castilian courses for Andalusian Spanish speakers.

TSSOL (SSOL) Teaching Spanish to Speakers of Other Languages...a convenience classification which would include TSFL, TSSL, and TESSOD.

English as a Second Language is also used to identify the use of English (by common agreement) as a lingua franca in multilingual areas, as is the case in some of the new countries of Africa where the citizenry is composed of numerous different speech communities, and where no satisfactory agreement can be reached on making any one of the native languages the "official" language of the new nation. A temporary and makeshift solution is to make some outside language, be it English or French, or Portuguese, or some other, the language of government and official transactions. This type of solution avoids intense, internal jealousies but commits everyone to having to learn a second language.

Services Provided by the New York State Education Department, Bureau of Bilingual Education

The Bureau of Bilingual Education, with regional offices in Albany, Buffalo, New York City and Long Island, provides services to the State in bilingual education/English as a second language programs. The Bureau's activities, presently involving twenty-two different language groups, include the following:

I. Technical Assistance to school districts in areas such as: on-site teacher training workshops; school-community relations; desegregation planning; and preparation of proposals for funding. Technical assistance is also provided by letter and telephone.

II. Monitoring of ESEA Title VII, ESEA Title I and State Chapter 720 programs in the schools.

III. Publications presently include: Haitian, Chinese, Spanish, Native American, Greek, French and English as a second language materials, documents on bilingual programs and testing, teachers' handbooks, and a quarterly newsletter.

IV. Media Projects include: a series of public service announcements on bilingual education, video-tapes of conference presentations such as Judith Nine-Curt's presentation on Puerto Rican body language, Spanish translations of several films, and a half-hour video tape on bilingual education.

V. Resource Library (in the Albany office) includes a wide range of materials in bilingual education and English as a second language. Upon request, materials are available on loan to schools throughout the State.

VI. Program Planning and Coordination for bilingual education, including

the gathering of statistics demonstrating the need for (and performance of) bilingual education programs.

VII. Bilingual Higher Education services are provided by Bureau of Bilingual Education personnel working in the Grants Administration Office.

VIII. Bilingual Migrant Programs are developed and coordinated for migrant children throughout the State.

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